

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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THE TWO REBELS



MR. REDMOND: "You'll not be letting this rebel creature go free?"

CHORUS OF CABINET MINISTERS: "We never have contemplated using violent methods to coerce Ulster—and never shall!"

"Vance," in last Saturday's "Referee," said:—"Even the best Liberal authorities have declared that Ulster must not be forced into submission by violent means."

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom; to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it; to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper

THE OUTLOOK

The attention of Irish Suffragists is concentrated upon the Home Rule Amending Bill, which is to be introduced into the House of Lords shortly after the return of that House to work after the holiday.

The Dublin Parliament

This Amending Bill is admittedly a Bill to smooth out the difficulties and to enable the Dublin Parliament when it meets to have behind it the consent of all sections of the community. But it will not obtain this consent unless women are included among the electorate, and it is therefore reasonable to ask that one of the amending clauses shall be a provision

changing the register from that contained in the Home Rule Bill (viz., the present Parliamentary Register) to the Local Government Register, on which the names of women are also enrolled. In view of the fact that many anti-suffragists are not opposed to enfranchising women for the "minor" Parliaments of any federal scheme, there would appear to be a real chance of this proposal being carried into law.

Irishwomen's Deputation to Mr. Redmond

The principal obstacle, however, is Mr. Redmond, who secured the defeat of Mr. Snowden's amendment to the original Bill in 1912, and who maintains his opposition. The Irish suffragists, militant and non-militant, have accordingly decided to send a deputation to interview him on the subject. They first asked him to fix a day, but on receiving from him a refusal, they have determined to wait upon him at the House of Commons on Thursday, June 11.

Mr. Asquith

The Irish suffragists have also decided to send a deputation to Mr. Asquith, and have invited him to name a time convenient to himself, but no reply had been received from him up to the time of going to press. It is felt that though Mr. Asquith is an anti-suffragist, he may withdraw his opposition, in view of the division of opinion which exists among anti-suffragists themselves on the question of including women in the electorate for the Irish Parliament. In any case, we hope that both Mr. Asquith and Mr.

Redmond will do the Irishwomen the courtesy of receiving them instead of taking up the same impossible ground which has led to the present terrible condition of the English movement.

Vindication of Democracy

Mr. Lloyd George has been speaking on the political situation, and claiming for the present Government that its continuance in office represents the triumph of democracy. Mr. Lloyd George knows perfectly well that by refusing to listen to the claim of one-half of the people to be represented he and his colleagues have been fighting a fierce battle against the fundamental principles of democracy. It is, in fact, only through the defeat of this present illiberal Liberal Government that true democracy will be vindicated.

Violence Condoned by Magistrate

We desire to enter an emphatic protest against the decision of the magistrate, Mr. Lister Drummond, to discharge certain men who were brought before him for having endeavoured to induce the crowd to throw suffragette speakers into the Streatham pond. Mr. Drummond is reported as having said that he did so because he could not shut his eyes to the fact that the conduct of suffragettes was creating great resentment in the public mind. Such an attitude on the part of a magistrate is an absolute negation of all justice. The fact that a man has committed a crime, however grave, is no justification for an assault to be committed upon him by the public. It

is for the law, and the law alone, to punish him. It is still more outrageous to suggest that assaults can be committed with impunity against some women because other women with whom they may or may not be connected are guilty of violent action.

Forcible Feeding for Unconvicted Persons

Scandalous as is the practice of forcible feeding as applied to convicted prisoners, it is still more contrary to all sense of decency when applied to persons awaiting trial who are hunger striking because of the refusal of the magistrate to allow them bail. We hope that when Parliament meets the Home Secretary will find that his sanction for this disgraceful proceeding has earned for him the condemnation of the right thinking members of the House.

Items of Interest

A deputation of East London working women is marching to the House of Commons on Wednesday evening, June 10, with the intention of waiting upon Mr. Asquith. It will be led by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst.

The *Manchester Guardian*, in a leading article on Tuesday last, has a strong comment on the encouragement given by the Press to mob violence practised on the suffragettes.

The *Times* on Tuesday last published an interesting article on the Civil Service Commission Report from the pen of a correspondent, in which the recommendations for continuing the exclusion of women from the higher posts of the Service, and for segregating the men and women clerks, are cleverly shown up. Another article in the same issue, by a solicitor, pleads hard for the retention of the protective discrimination in favour of the male sex in that profession.

The United Suffragists are holding a free public meeting in the Essex Hall on Thursday evening, June 11. It is expected that members of the Irish women's deputation to Mr. Redmond will be present, and will speak, in addition to the originally announced list of speakers.

"THE PRICE OF LIBERTY"

The Last Written Word of Emily Wilding Davison

[We reproduce below the striking article by Miss Emily Wilding Davison which appeared in the "Daily Sketch" of May 28. It was probably her last written word before going out to meet her death by stopping the King's horse in the Derby last year.

"Miss Davison," says the "Daily Sketch" in a foreword to the essay, "was a highly-educated woman, a B.A., Honours (London), and in Class 1 of the Oxford Final Honour School in English Language and Literature. She had published many articles in VOTES FOR WOMEN and in other periodicals. Imprisoned eight times, she hunger-struck on the last seven occasions, and on three of these she was forcibly fed. The poignant interest of this, her last utterance, is obvious."]

The true suffragette is an epitome of the determination of women to possess their own souls. The words of the Master are eternally true:—

"What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"

And it is the realisation of this ideal that is moving the most advanced of the feminists to stand out at all costs to-day.

Men as a sex have not yet grasped the inevitability of the forging of this last link in the chain of human progress. Ever since history peeps out of the mists of time the male of the race has made it his prerogative to give or deny the whole world to his partner, but has withheld from her that which is above all temporal things—namely, the possession of a soul, the manifestation of the Godhead within.

They have beautified and decorated the shrine, but they have kept it empty of the divinity which gave a significance to the paraphernalia of the shrine.

Especially is this error noticeable and blameworthy in the latter days of the early Christian Church, when it was seriously discussed whether women even possessed souls, and sufficient doubt on the subject was raised to condemn the sex from that time onward to an inferior position in the community.

For centuries people have been groping after the dry bones of humanity, forgetting the mighty spirit which alone could make those dry bones live, till early last century the sons of men saw the need of the vivifying breath, and one man after another, one class after another felt the quick stirring process, and rose to the wondrous life of civic freedom.

Could the partners of men be untouched by this marvellous awakening? Could women any longer remain dry bones merely or indeed even as a clod of earth in the valley? Could the newly aroused and enlightened race owe its origin to an insensate and unintelligent creature?

The wonderful renaissance of freedom has to extend its kindly influence to all! In the New Testament the Master reminded His followers that when the merchant had found the Pearl of Great Price, he sold all that he had in order to buy it. That is the parable of Militancy! It is that which the woman warriors are doing to-day. Some are truer warriors than others, but the perfect Amazon is she who will sacrifice all even unto this last to win the Pearl of Freedom for her sex.

Some of the beautiful pearls that women sell to obtain this freedom which is so little appreciated by those who are born free are the pearls of Friendship,

Good Report, Love, and even Life itself, each in itself a priceless boon.

Who will gainsay that Friendship is one of the priceless jewels of life? Did not the Elizabethan philosopher remind us that friendship doubles our joys and halves our sorrows? Have not the poets sung the inestimable riches of friendship?

Yet this pearl is sacrificed without a moment's hesitation by the true militant. And, indeed, the sacrifice is inevitable, even as the sun puts out the bright glow of the grate fire. Yet the Larés and Penates are valued gods, even if lesser lights, whilst on the sunniest day a bitter frost may necessitate the worship of the lesser but more comfortable flame.

Thus the sacrifice involves terrible suffering to the militant—old friends, recently made friends, they all go one by one into the limbo of the burning fiery furnace, a grim holocaust to Liberty.

An even severer part of the price is the surrender of Good Report—one of the brightest and most precious of the gems in a woman's crown, as anyone can realise who knows how easily her fair fame is sullied.

Men have been able to go forward through good report and ill report, and so low has been the standard of morals for them that the breath of scandal but seemed to burnish more brightly their good qualities.

But owing to the same double standard the merest whisper of venomous tongues could damn a woman socially and politically, for to be safe she must be like Caesar's wife.

Hence, to women, reputation is often as dear as life itself. Yet even this jewel has been sacrificed by the militant, for she has felt the truth of the Cavalier poet's song—

"I could not love thee, dear, so much,
Loved I not honour more."

And she has felt in her innermost soul that there was no chance of preserving any "honour" worth the name if she acquiesced in a state of society wherein women's souls and bodies were bought and sold.

"Ye cannot serve God and Mammon." What possibility for those who knew the existing evil to sit down and suffer it in comfort and peace? Better to be Anathema Maranatha for the sake of progress than to sit lapped in ignoble ease in the House of Good Fame! Better that all men should speak evil of her and revile her, fighting the eternal battle of glorious liberty and humanity!

But a more soul-rending sacrifice even than that of friendship and of good report is demanded of the militant, that of the blood tie. "She that loveth mother or father, sister or brother, husband or child, dearer than me cannot be my disciple," saith the terrible voice of freedom in accents that rend the very heart in twain.

"Cannot this cup of anguish be spared me?" cries the militant aloud in agony, yet immediately, as if in repentance for having so nearly lost the Priceless Pearl, in the words of all strivers after progress, she ejaculates: "Nevertheless I will pay, even unto this price"; and in her writhing asks what further demand can be exacted from her.

The glorious and inscrutable Spirit of Liberty has but one further penalty within its power, the surrender of Life itself. It is the supreme consummation of sacrifice, than which none can be higher or greater.

To lay down life for friends, that is glorious, selfless, inspiring! But to re-enact the tragedy of Calvary for generations yet unborn, that is the last consummate sacrifice of the Militant!

"Nor will she shrink from this Nirvana.
She will be faithful unto this last."

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DEPUTATIONS TO MINISTERS

Irish Women Demand Interview with Mr. Redmond and the Prime Minister—Sylvia Pankhurst to Lead Working Women to the House of Commons

WOMEN AND THE AMENDING BILL

Deputation to Premier and Irish Leader IRISH WOMEN TAKE NO REFUSAL

We are informed that a deputation of representative Irish women, organised by a joint committee of militant and non-militant Suffragists, will wait upon Mr. Asquith and Mr. Redmond at the House of Commons on June 11, to urge upon them the necessity of including in the Amending Home Rule Bill a clause enfranchising Irishwomen by substituting as the basis of the electorate the Local Government register, which includes women for the Parliamentary register, which differs from it in Ireland solely by excluding them.

Both Mr. Asquith and Mr. Redmond were asked to fix a day to receive the deputation. To this letter no reply had been received from the Prime Minister up to the time of going to press. The Irish Leader having declined to receive the deputation, saying that his views on the subject were already known, the Irishwomen's Committee wrote and stated their intention of waiting both upon him and Mr. Asquith at the House of Commons on June 11.

London Meeting on June 11

It is also announced that some of the members of the deputation will speak on the results of their mission to the Prime Minister and the Irish leader at a meeting in the Essex Hall, organised by the United Suffragists (3, Adam Street, Strand), on Thursday evening, June 11.

TRADES CONGRESS AND THE WOMAN'S VOTE

At the Congress of Irish trade unionists in the City Hall, Dublin, last Tuesday, a resolution was adopted including a clause moved by Mrs. Gordon (Irish Women Workers' Union), which demanded provision in the Amending Bill for the Parliamentary representation of the women of Ireland.

WHAT THE "IRISH CITIZEN" SAYS

In a leading article in its issue of May 30, the *Irish Citizen* comments strongly on Mr. Redmond's assertion, made on the final passage of the Home Rule Bill, that it is to be "a charter of liberty" for all the Irish people. The *Citizen* says:—

"Mr. Redmond, as usual, ignores women. He does not wish the Home Rule Bill to be a charter of liberty for them; he does not regard their goodwill as worth considering. Will he persist in this attitude until the end? Will he continue to regard drilled troops and open threats of civil war as the only matters worthy of consideration and conciliation by a statesman?"

No Excuse for Redmond

The article proceeds to say that Mr. Redmond can still redeem himself by insisting that votes for women shall be embodied in the Amending Bill as it was in the Scottish and Welsh Home Rule Bills. "He has no longer the excuse," says the writer, "that Home Rule will be imperilled. Home Rule, according to his own word, is absolutely safe. If he continues to ignore his countrywomen, he will have afforded one more proof that unremitting opposition to him and his party is the only line that pays. He respects and will treat with Sir Edward Carson; he has so far shown no disposition to treat with the women."

The Curse of the Party Woman

The reason for this, urges the *Irish Citizen*, is the support given him by Irish Party women. "That is because," it says, "so many Irish women, following the evil advice of slave leaders, have allowed themselves to be coaxed by mouthings about 'National Freedom,' where no freedom is or can be. They have been hypnotised by rhetorical rant about a free Nation, as if a free Nation had any meaning apart from the freedom of its citizens. They have meekly agreed that the attainment of a little more freedom by men is more important than the foundations of their own liberty."

"What are these Party Women going to do now? Are they going to make an effort to break their bonds, and insist on their rights as citizens being recognised? On them must rest a heavy share of the responsibility, if by their inaction their

sisters are goaded into violent action, and if the scenes which have shocked London during the past week are to become familiar to Dublin on the opening of a Home Rule Parliament."

DEPUTATION OF WORKING WOMEN

To Interview the Prime Minister

The following letter, dated May 30, has been sent to Mr. Asquith by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst:—

"Sir,—On Wednesday night, June 10, the day after the re-assembling of Parliament, a deputation of East London people, earnestly desirous of securing votes for women without delay, intend to lay their views before you.

"The deputation will consist of persons elected by a number of East London societies, and others elected from a series of great rally meetings, which will be held in various East London districts during the forthcoming week.

"The deputation will, therefore, be representative of the immense popular movement for votes for women which exists in East London.

"The deputation will be brought to the House of Commons by a procession of women and men from East London. It will, therefore, be impossible for it to arrive before 10 p.m.

"As the matter is of extreme and critical urgency, the deputation can take no refusal. I trust that you will make arrangements for the unmolested approach of the peaceful procession, and to receive the deputation.—Yours faithfully,

"E. SYLVIA PANKHURST."

To Represent Popular Feeling

In a letter to her East End supporters, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst urges the importance of making the deputation representative of the "popular feeling in the fullest sense," and to attain that end she invites them to attend mass meetings in East London, at which delegates for the deputation shall be elected, and the actual terms shall be moved and carried of the demand to be made to the Prime Minister. She also calls upon the people to conduct the deputation to Westminster in procession.

Miss Pankhurst concludes by saying:—"If this deputation is not received, and I am snatched away from you back to prison, I shall do the hunger and thirst strike as before, of course, and when I get out I shall go as quickly as I can to the Strangers' entrance to the House of Commons and continue my hunger and thirst strike there, and never give in until the Prime Minister agrees to receive our deputation with the procession conducting it; and I am unconditionally released."

"DAILY HERALD'S" COMMENT

The *Daily Herald*, in its leading article of June 2, says:—

"We congratulate Miss Pankhurst and her friends upon taking this action. Mr. Asquith can scarcely refuse to receive this deputation. His predecessor in office, Mr. Balfour, on two occasions received deputations of working women who went to him on the subject of unemployment. As a matter of fact, it was a women's deputation which secured the passage through Parliament of the 'Unemployed Workmen' Bill. These women will go to him selected in the same manner as the deputations were which went to Mr. Balfour, viz., from public meetings. Under these circumstances the Prime Minister must receive the deputation, and we hope also that what they have to say to him will convince him that the question of women's enfranchisement is of so much importance, and that women are so deadly in earnest, that he will call upon Parliament to give up any idea of a holiday until it has passed a Women's Suffrage Bill conferring the vote on all adult women."

ECHOES OF THE DEPUTATION TO THE KING

An Irish Delegate's Account

In view of certain Press accounts of the "violence" of the "armed women" who took part in the deputation to the King on May 21, a description in the *Irish Citizen* (May 30) of what happened, written by L. M. Meigs, a member of the deputation, is of considerable interest and importance. Want of space prevents our printing it in full; we give only the following extracts:—

"Before starting, we were arranged in groups of thirteen each under a captain, the first two groups being composed of Irish and Scots women. We carried nothing, not even an umbrella, in our hands."

Met by Mounted Police

"When the head of the procession got quite near the gate it was suddenly closed, and police, mounted and on foot, dashed

out and barred the way. Without a moment's hesitation the women walked calmly on right towards the barrier, those behind closing up at a quick rate and pressing forward. The mounted men tried to ride through and separate us, and streams of other police poured out of the archway on the left of the gate, and rushed at the women. Somehow one side of the gate was forced open, and a few women got through. These were seized by the police on the other side and flung back with great violence. Others pressed on through the opening in spite of blows from police batons, and mounted men, who spurred their horses across it and made them plunge—backing them on to us. The scenes of the next few minutes were indescribable. A tall woman near me was kicked by a horse in the stomach and dragged away in a fainting condition; others were jammed against the barrier."

A Rush with Batons

"Some were seized round the waist and deliberately flung down under the horses' legs; others tried to rescue them. After a time an inspector rode up and shouted 'Clear them out of this!' The police then made a rush with batons, hitting and shouting very excitedly, and the next thing I knew was that I was flung inside the archway into the police station."

In the Police Station

"It was crowded. There was blood on the floor, and many were in a fainting state. I had time to look at the faces of some of the women, and was struck with the extraordinary look of peace on them. They were perfectly calm—in contrast to the excited police—many of whom, poor men, obviously hated the dirty work they were ordered to do, and told me so. The plain-clothes men were much more cruel than the uniformed police, as a rule. I saw one of them rush out twice to hit and kick and twist arms of women, and then run back for shelter to the station, pretending he was one of the crowd. I spoke to him afterwards, and he acknowledged he was a special officer. Some men in the crowd were very kind, and protected us from the blows of the police. These men were set upon and beaten most unmercifully."

"One man, who had been arrested, was set upon in the station; it was sickening to hear the blows on his face and body. We tried to pull them off, but they shouted, 'We'll teach him.'"

The Writer's Conclusion

"I see now how militants are made."

A PRESS ECHO

The *Pioneer* (May 29) makes the following comment in its women's column on the treatment of the members of the Deputation to the King:—

"We all know now how the Government views a perfectly constitutional protest when such a protest happens to be made by women. The facts are not of a kind to make any true Englishman proud of his country. The responsibility for future events must be laid at the door of the Government."

APPEAL TO THE QUEEN

The following petition has been addressed to the Queen by the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement:—

To Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Mary

May it please Your Gracious Majesty to receive this humble petition.

As a body of loyal subjects of His Majesty the King we beg to tender our sympathies with Your Majesty in the deplorable circumstances which are closing round the Sovereign, due to the faithlessness of His Majesty's Ministers.

Women anxious to serve in the regeneration of the race, to the honour of His Majesty and his people, are refused all access to the Throne, and are persecuted in the name of their Sovereign.

We beg to submit that the advice tendered to His Majesty by his Ministers in regard to the militant woman is pernicious, and that the scandalous differential treatment as between women-militants and Ulstermen-militants perpetuates the grave injustice which lies at the root of the present crisis.

In great crises of history Queens have come to the rescue, and we humbly pray that history may repeat itself, and that it may be granted to a loyal and grateful people to rejoice in the restoration of the King's honour by the love of Your Most Gracious Majesty, and that it may seem good to Your Majesty to plead with the King that His Majesty shall hear from the lips of Mrs. Pankhurst herself the story of the conditions which surround the lives

of millions of voteless women in the United Kingdom; and your petitioners will ever pray.

(Signed)

V. D. DUVAL.
D. CAMERON-SWAN.
C. M. GONNE, Capt. (retired).
W. BOULTON (L.R.C.P., Lond.).

The letter has been acknowledged by the Queen's Private Secretary.

"ARSON AND POLITICS"

In a leading article bearing the above title, the *Times* of June 2, in reference to the burning of Wargrave Church, says:—

"The reason for these wanton acts is commonly stated by the perpetrators, their abettors, and their sympathisers, to be the public apathy towards the claims of female suffrage. The usual argument of the so-called militant section of woman Suffragists is that they can obtain no hearing by the employment of lawful methods; that the Press, of set purpose, ignores their meetings and misrepresents their earnestness; and that they have no other means of making their aspirations known but by declaring a guerilla war upon society. Such a contention is quite untenable. No political cause is better able to provide itself with all the arts of legitimate advocacy than that of the enfranchisement of women. It has much wealth and many influential friends to support it. It can command eloquence; it can call meetings; it can publish newspapers. One thing alone it lacks in the present state of politics. There is no force of public opinion in its favour sufficient to bring about its victory in Parliament. We report the crimes of Suffragists, as we report other crimes which are part of the news of the day; but we have little space for the restatement of arguments for or against a cause which is not urgent. Among public affairs of the moment the question of woman Suffrage is, comparatively, unimportant. It says little for the political discernment of its adherents if they are unable to see that there is one paramount issue, of far greater importance than any other occupying the time and taxing the wit of all parties in Parliament, which must be settled both now and finally. To this issue all minor ones must give place. There is a time-table in the affairs of men, as there is in Parliament; and to refuse to recognise this is to display not the wisdom of statesmanship, but the petulance of the nursery."

It is difficult to gather from the above article anything but a recommendation to the militants to go on being militant, since the *Times* admits that it cannot print any suffrage news unless it deals with that side of the movement. Its allusion to the local trouble in Ulster as a greater issue than the freedom of half the human race would be provocative if it were not so strangely lacking in proportion as to be humorous.

MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE IN SCOTLAND Anti-Government Speeches

Echoes of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's recent Suffrage tour in Scotland continue to reach us. The meeting at Tranent, says the *Edinburgh Evening News*, was "the largest meeting ever held there." At Bo'ness, writes a correspondent, the audience was largely composed of people who had never been to a Suffrage meeting before, including a brake-load of women who had driven ten miles to hear Mrs. Lawrence speak. The same correspondent adds that the local Press accounts convey little idea of the immense enthusiasm aroused by the speeches both of Mrs. Lawrence and Mr. George Fensbury at Tranent, where the following resolution was carried unanimously amid great applause:—

"That this meeting records its profound indignation at the dishonourable way in which the Government have trifled with the urgent matter of the enfranchisement of women; and denounces their cowardly policy of arresting and imprisoning the militant women, while at the same time cringing to the militant leaders of the Ulster rebellion, who are openly inciting to civil war and setting the law at defiance. It further protests against the torture of political prisoners by means of the Cat and Mouse Act and forcible feeding, and calls upon the Government to put an end to the present intolerable situation by immediately introducing and carrying into law a measure giving votes to women."

A LIBERAL ADMISSION

The *Nation*, commenting on the cause which led to the defeat of Mr. Masterman at Ipswich, says: "The women Suffragists also worked hard against Mr. Masterman."

THE MOVEMENT ABROAD

UNITED STATES

Position in Congress

No further progress has been made in the Senate with the Suffrage Bill now before Congress; but some slight advance has been made in the House of Representatives, where, on May 13, a resolution was introduced providing for the consideration of the Bill which had been reported to the House by the Judiciary Committee. This resolution was referred to the Committee on Rules, and no further news of it had been received by us up to the time of going to Press. The procedure of the House of Representatives requires this course to be pursued before it can proceed with the discussion of the Bill.

A Political Comparison

The leading article in the *Suffragist* (May 23) draws an interesting parallel between the Democratic Party in the States and the Liberal Party in England. It comments on the statement made to a women's deputation by the chairman of the Rules Committee, who said he could do nothing contrary to the dictates of the Democratic caucus (which has refused to put Woman Suffrage on its programme); and the article points out that this is tantamount to saying that Congress has changed from a deliberative and legislative body to an executive body obliged to carry out the will of a minority. It then proceeds to say:—

"That this change has been brought about by a party calling itself Democratic is as ironical as the changes which have been made in the English Parliament by the party calling itself Liberal."

SUFFRAGETTE PIGEONS

On May 9, the occasion of the Suffragist demonstration on the steps of the Capitol, carrier pigeons were sent from several parts of the country to President Wilson, bearing resolutions calling upon him to advocate the cause of women's enfranchisement.

WOMEN IN THE COLORADO STRIKES

(From a Correspondent)

What women who have been invested with the sovereign power of the ballot can do for their State in time of need has just been magnificently demonstrated in Colorado. The dramatic story has been gleaned from the Denver dailies and the special correspondence from Senator Helen Ring Robinson. The main points are these: Women got tired of nothing being done by the State authorities to stop the atrocities that were being committed in the strike region among the mines, and determined to put a stop to them. They realised that in the existing bitterness of feeling the only power that could meet the situation was the Federal Government. A call was sent out in the name of the Women's Peace Association.

A Short Way With Governors

One thousand women responded, some with babies in their arms. They sent a Committee to summon the Governor to meet them in the Assembly Chamber. He was very busy, but said they might tell him their wishes. The reply was firm—that they would wait his pleasure, but he must accompany them to meet the women. The Lieutenant-Governor tried to intervene and get the women to leave the office. They were respectful, but determined. How splendidly rings the demand of their spokeswoman, Senator Robinson: "Governor Ammons, the women of Denver summon you. The women of Denver, do you understand?"

The Power of the Ballot

Here spoke the power of the ballot, and the Governor understood and did as the women bade him. They told him what they wanted, and sent a committee to see that he carried out their behest. Very reluctantly the Governor yielded point by point—first to telegraph the President to see if federal aid would be sent if needed, and then to ask that it be sent at once. There were the committee in his office and the thousand women waiting, and they never let up on it until they had seen the appeal and knew that it was sent off. Then they sang, women-like:

"Praise God, from whom all blessings flow."
"It was a twelve-hour job before they could go home and know that the State would be safe."

All of this happened before the recent meeting of the Antis, where great delight was taken in showing how helpless the women of Colorado are with the ballot to mitigate the horrible conditions that have been existing there. But that fact would not make any difference to those who ignore fact in favour of what they think, or fancy, or fear.

CANADA

In Toronto

(From Our Own Correspondent)

On Wednesday Miss Pethick and I spent our morning in the Woman's Court, where we were made most unhappy by the sight of a manifestly mentally defective girl, who was condemned to imprisonment for misconduct, while the boy who had been her companion in crime was dismissed without even a reproof. I commented on this to one of the policewomen, and she said the girl had been up several times before, and was quite incurable.

"She hasn't got any intelligence—she's been in gaol again and again," said one woman to me as the girl, a feeble, anemic-looking creature, sat, hopelessly sobbing, and moaning over her prospective fate. I thought of Lady Constance Lytton's book. How can we cure these poor creatures who are lacking in the elements of self-respect by heaping shame and humiliation upon them?

"Are there no homes for girls such as these?" I asked.

"That's what Dr. McMurdy is working for."

Dr. Helen McMurdy is the inspector for the feeble-minded, and she does not interest herself much in woman's suffrage, though she is untiring in her efforts to improve the condition of the intellectually defective boy or girl, and to secure the segregation of the sexes. I spoke with her upon the suffrage, but she does not seem to think the woman's vote would be very helpful, though she eagerly asked for all I could tell her of the different systems for these unhappy, afflicted creatures in Germany and America. Meanwhile, as women are powerless to enforce their demand, the sacrifice of boys and of girls goes on, and the State has only one remedy—the prison cell for the "weaker" sex. That girl's sobs are still sounding in my ears, and her weak, pale, childish face is still before my eyes. Marred by man, condemned by man, helpless, hopeless, abject, poor soul! what chance has she of redemption?

The next case was a very interesting one. Some coloured woman had refused to be stripped at the gaol, and charged the matron with assault because she had insisted on carrying out the objectionable process. Miss Pethick and the coloured woman quite fraternised and sororised over their prison experiences; the latter was a very formidable-looking person, and had kept six policemen at bay.

We spent the afternoon at Mrs. Ormsby's beautiful house on the borders of the lake. There we had a meeting, and a number of ladies expressed themselves in ardent sympathy with militancy when they heard the true story of it. Mrs. Ormsby herself was most delightfully enthusiastic, and has proved a most ardent convert to our cause.

In Winnipeg

That evening we left Toronto for Winnipeg. I felt very glad that I was returning to the former town in less than three weeks, as I had made many good friends, from whom I was very loath to part. Miss Pethick's absence will be longer, but she has promised to return to Toronto on June 18. Our journey of forty hours to Winnipeg was uneventful, but it seemed strange to see ice-covered ponds, snow-covered tracks, and tree branches glistening with hoar frost in the end of April and on the 1st of May. Winnipeg, however, was not so cold; we had two very warm days after our arrival.

It is curious how the subject of Woman Suffrage seems all-pervading; everyone is talking of it. The papers keep incessantly dragging it in. The women's march in Minnesota occupies quite a goodly portion of the *Telegram* here, and at the restaurant where I was eating my solitary dinner I heard through the wooden partition quite a lively discussion on Woman Suffrage, the "anti" argument being, as usual, "But what can they (the women) understand of our foreign policy?" One thing our visit has done—it has brought out the "antis" in great force, and they have paraded their foolish arguments in all the papers.

Margaret Hodge.

AUSTRALIA

The Reactionaries

The newspapers published on Thursday in last week the following cablegram, received in London for communication to the King:—

"On behalf of Australian Women's National League, comprising 32,000 women voters, we desire to express the utmost indignation at the suffragette outrages and their insults to his Majesty the King."

What League is This?

Our readers will set against this resolution Miss Vida Goldstein's cablegram to *VOTES FOR WOMEN* last week, telling us of a resolution passed at a large open-air demonstration, condemning the unconstitutional action of the King's advisers in refusing to allow voteless women to lay a petition before his Majesty.

Miss Goldstein further cables to us the information that the Australian Women's National League represents women who were formerly Anti-suffragists, and, now that the vote has been won for them by others, do very little active work for women. This information is borne out by a communication we have received from an Australian woman voter now in this country, who writes to us as follows:—"It may be well to tell you of the Australian Women's National League, that it is a Victorian body, and that though it has branches in at least two of the other States, it has no real claim to be considered the mouthpiece of Australian women generally."

"It is an association of Melbourne society women, wealthy and strongly undemocratic. Its first principle is 'Loyalty to the Throne.' The president and most of the leaders were anti-suffragists before the vote was granted to women, and they are avowedly anti-suffragists still. They only exercise the vote under protest, because they feel themselves compelled to

combat the deadly foe of their class, Socialism!"

The same correspondent adds that when this Women's National League issued a manifesto a little time ago against those women who wished to enter Parliament, the *Melbourne Age*, one of the leading Australian papers, published a leading article, pouring ridicule upon the A.W.N.L. manifesto as an interesting remnant of the Early Victorian days, when women thought it proper to shriek for man's aid at the sight of a mouse, assuming further that the League could not properly claim to speak for Australian womanhood of to-day. This outburst was all the more remarkable in the *Age*, adds our correspondent, seeing that it is the organ of the "Liberal" Party, which is the Party supported by the Australian Women's National League.

SOUTH AFRICAN "ANTIS"

The Woman Suffrage cause must be making progress in South Africa, for the "Anti" has arisen there! On May 20, according to an Exchange cable, the Dutch women at Zoutpansberg petitioned Parliament against granting the vote to women. Their reasons were the usual slavish ones to which we are accustomed over here—with the additional one that the idea of women's enfranchisement is opposed to the teaching of the Bible. That makes it a little awkward for the Archbishop and the Bishops who voted for the Second Reading of Lord Selborne's Bill in our House of Lords the other day!

SUFFRAGISTS AND LYNCH LAW

MORE MAGISTERIAL INCITEMENT

We commented last week on a magistrate's refusal to grant a summons to a woman who had been struck on the jaw by a hooligan in Hyde Park, and also on his subsequent remarks, which were a virtual encouragement to other young ruffians to go and do likewise. His suggestion has been followed by three young men who, last Monday, mobbed some Suffragettes on Streatham Common and tried to put them in the pond. They were brought up at Streatham Police Court on Tuesday, and were discharged. The magistrate, Mr. Lister Drummond, without calling on the defendants, uttered the following astounding remarks:—

"It is impossible to shut one's eyes to the fact that the behaviour of these women has created a strong feeling of resentment. I will not impose any penalty on this occasion, and the young men will be discharged."

It is true that he had the grace to add: "I advise them to abstain from any interference in the future." But is it likely that they will follow his advice now that they know there is one law for Suffragettes and another for hooligans? And what encouragement have the police received to make any more arrests when women are being assaulted?

"MOB VIOLENCE NO REMEDY"

Under this title the *Manchester Guardian* of last Tuesday comments as follows upon the recommendations to lynch law for the Suffragettes which have been uttered lately:—

"Recent occurrences in Belfast and Ipswich, together with some utterances in the Press, appear to make it necessary to point out that the excesses of the suffragettes, however great, furnish no justification for the brutalities of mob violence. Protests against lawlessness should not themselves be lawless; the spirit which leads a mob to 'take the law into its own hands' deserves no respect, for, gross as is the provocation given by the suffragettes, the mob, it should be remembered, is content to leave to the processes of law all the worst crimes that are daily committed against human life. We regret to see that even in the Press some countenance is given to the employment of lynch law, witness the letter which appeared recently in the *Evening Standard*, urging that whenever and wherever any of these women be found let all the people be agreed to jeer, pelt, beat, and otherwise maltreat them. If such a disgraceful incitement to mob violence anywhere has its natural effect, it is of course the duty of the police to give the persons attacked the same protection which they owe to all citizens, including even the worst criminals. We cannot pick and choose among crimes, saying, 'Here is a murderer or a child-torturer; let the law deal with him,' and 'Here is a woman incendiary or hacker of pictures; let the

mob deal with her.' The police, of course, have a very difficult task, but we have no doubt that they will do their duty and protect these women against the brutalities to which they are sometimes subjected."

No reference is made in this leading article to the other growing scandal, the brutalities to which both men and women Suffragists are subjected by plain clothes police themselves, against which they appear to have no remedy.

MAGISTRATES AND LYNCH LAW

To the Editors of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*.

Dear Editors,—Members of the New Constitutional Society are opposed to all methods of violence, whether used by Suffragists or anti-Suffragists; but they desire to draw attention to the very serious situation which will be created if men occupying responsible positions are allowed to suggest the possibility of lynch law in this country. Mr. Hopkins, at Bow Street, used the following words when addressing a woman who had received a blow on the jaw: "Some day the exasperated crowd will break into a procession of militants, and then what will happen to you women nobody knows. For the moment you have to thank the police for being alive. You owe them a debt of gratitude." Many persons unaccustomed to legal phraseology might have been led to infer that he considered the lynching of Suffragists almost permissible. Fortunately for us, the average citizen is friendly, and "plain clothes men" and hooligans are in a minority; otherwise, as the closing of certain Museums to all women except by special permit proves that it is as impossible to guess at a woman's opinions from her appearance as it would be to judge of a man's, such careless utterances on the part of our legal luminaries are calculated to create a grave danger to all women, who are just as much entitled to a police protection they pay for as men are.

The result of this thoughtless attitude on the part of certain educated men is already showing itself in inept but none the less mischievous paragraphs appearing in the more irresponsible papers. For instance, the *People* (May 24) prints the following: "What would be much better would be to leave the people to deal with these human freaks." It is time the people themselves took these women in hand and dealt with them vigorously. And the *Evening Standard* (May 25): "Wherever any of these women be found, let all the people be agreed to jeer, pelt, beat, and otherwise maltreat them."

Now I submit that the repetition of such incitement to outrage is calculated to bring about a state of things similar to that which leads up to negro lynchings in America, and whatever our views on the Suffrage may be, we cannot desire that votes for women should be brought about by the perpetration of some disgustingly savage murder which would be an indelible stain on the annals of this unfortunate country.—Yours, &c.,

RUTH C. BENTLEY.

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AT THE PLAY

"An Ideal Husband" at St. James's Theatre

It is often interesting to revive a play of twenty years ago, especially if the playwright, as in Oscar Wilde's case, were gifted, artistic, intuitive. When "An Ideal Husband" was produced in 1895, at the very theatre where it is now revived, the author was at the height of his fame. I was unable to decide, on its revival the other night, whether I had changed and become more critical; or whether a play of this precise age is not old enough, not remote enough to be a presentment of the past and a little too old to be one of the present; but something rang hollow in this play of idle men and women, amusing enough as one must concede it to be. The thought would recur to my mind that had Wilde lived to see the great awakening of women he might have grasped its true inwardness, and in Lady Chiltern have given us a woman leading a life of her own, capable of forming her own views, and *with reason* inspiring her husband with the deep respect he feels for her. She too has placed him on a pedestal.

Sir Robert Chiltern is Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, a man of unblemished reputation, bound to attain Cabinet rank ere long. In his youth he had been very poor, and at twenty-two had sold a Government secret (they have so many!) to a wealthy Jew for £100,000; it was worth £800,000 to the speculator. The play opens with a brilliant reception at Sir Robert's house in Grosvenor Square, and we are promptly introduced to very exalted personages and extraordinarily handsome and elegantly dressed women, including the she-villain of the piece, Mrs. Cheveley, who has become possessed of the compromising letter Sir Robert wrote Baron Arnhem. She demands a price for it: he must induce the Government to take up a Sahara irrigation scheme in which she is interested financially, and which he has recently opposed in the House as of the wild-cat order. Otherwise the letter will appear in the Press and create a Marconi (or macaroni) scandal. He yields. But Lady Chiltern, without knowing the reason lying at the back of this step, recalls him to the path of consistency and common sense. Mrs. Cheveley shows her the letter, taunts her with her husband's real position, his coming fall.

The position is saved by Lord Goring very conveniently finding a diamond snake bracelet he had given a titled lady of his acquaintance, which Mrs. Cheveley had stolen and dropped at the reception. He threatens to fetch the police. The tables are turned, the female-villain chased out of the exalted circles in which she seemed to fit as well as the rest, and Lady Chiltern agrees to overlook Sir Robert's peccadillo and live happily with him after, as before. Had she lived within the last two years would she have "taken on so" over such a trifle? Sir George Alexander has a subtle mind, and one cannot but think he perceived the irony of this particular situation, as between drama and life, and meant us to perceive it.

Moreover, what a picture of male-organised Society has Wilde put before us in this play. The parasitic woman, born and bred in the idea that man must rule, woman submit, flatter, and dress for the part that he assigns her, is well to the front in "An Ideal Husband." Two large, titled, able-bodied, middle-aged women, sitting cheek by jowl, do not venture to go to the buffet together until some man has "taken" them. But perhaps the call on feminine credulity is somewhat excessive when the following words are uttered by Lord Goring and docilely repeated by Lady Chiltern to her husband:—

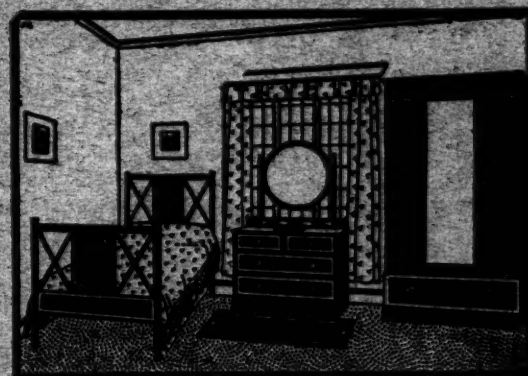
Women are not meant to judge us, but to forgive us when we need forgiveness. Pardon, not punishment is their mission. . . . A man's life is of more value than a woman's. It has larger issues, wider scope, greater ambitions. A woman's life revolves in curves of emotion. It is upon lines of intellect that a man's life progresses.

Comment is needless. The fatuousness of such a summing-up of the lives of the two sexes is painfully obvious. The pity of it is that the thoughtless and irreflective, men as well as women, accept these false statements as an epitome of the differences between the sexes, and not as the opinions of two persons who both require a fuller knowledge of the facts of life and a course in logic to improve their reasoning faculty.

C. S. B.

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FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1914.

WHY NOT NOW?

For years past no member of the Cabinet has dared to travel openly or to make a public entrance into any town in the Kingdom or to appear at a public meeting without the protection of detectives and police. During the last week it has been announced in the Press, without contradiction, that the King has cancelled the projected Royal garden parties at Buckingham Palace and at Windsor because of the menace of the suffrage agitation, also that he has refused to appear at the Henley Regatta, and that he has abandoned his customary morning ride in the park. Such facts speak for themselves. The position gets worse from week to week. Defiance of the law and violence are becoming both on the side of the Government and on the side of the rebels more daring and more destructive.

The treatment of the deputation of women who sought on May 21 to petition the King was no less illegal and unconstitutional than it was revolting. Organised assault upon unarmed subjects of the Crown by the police is utterly subversive of our system of law and against the letter and the spirit of our constitution. If the women who took part in that deputation were acting in contravention of the law of the land, they laid themselves open to arrest. The only legitimate function of the police was to take them into custody forthwith, and in due course to bring them before the magistrate, that sentence of punishment might be pronounced upon them. Had the magistrate been able, in accordance with any legal code, to sentence them to be beaten, kicked, lifted up by the hair and flung to the ground, and subjected to all manner of assault and indignities at the hands of the police, the carrying out of the sentence would at least have been legally justified.

But simply because it did not suit the Home Secretary in his capacity as member of the Liberal Government to have a large number of women arrested for this particular alleged breach of law, he in his other capacity as chief of the Metropolitan Police, gave orders, directly or indirectly, explicitly or tacitly, that the police should take the punishment of the offenders into their own hands instead of giving them what is due to the worst criminal, the right of trial—a proceeding contrary to the spirit of the Habeas Corpus Act. It was allowed to the police themselves to discriminate between the innocent and the guilty, it was given to them to determine who should be beaten with truncheons, who should be attacked with blows on the breast, who should be kicked in the back, who should be lifted up by the hair and flung upon the road. Only the women whose strength survived the indiscriminate and brutal punishment by the police were arrested. Thus the alleged law-breakers, instead of being dealt with by the impartial administration of the law, were dealt with by illegal and shocking violence.

In this country we look upon lynch law with horror. But in the treatment of the women's deputation we saw lynch law brought to an organised system by the underlings of the Government, with the approval and sanction of the official head of the administration of justice. If those who so loudly disapprove of violence when exercised by women fighting for the simple justice which is denied to them were sincere in their denunciation, they would be calling now for the arraignment of the Home Secretary, who,

armed with all the power of the Law, reinforced by special Coercion Acts, has not scrupled to set it aside, when it suited his political ends, in favour of illegal violence and brute force. What has been the sequel? Illegal injury to persons has provoked fresh acts of destruction to property; cruelty and violence unrebutted by those who are in a position to speak for the conscience of the nation have been answered by further defiance. This is exactly what has happened over and over again all down the ages of human history.

There are millions of people in this country who are sickened by the futility quite as much as by the cruelty of the present policy of the Government. They are horrified at the mismanagement that has led to the present crisis. The members of the Cabinet themselves realise that the hope of crushing the suffrage agitation is vain, and that all attempts to do so are doomed to futility. Consider the words of Lord Haldane, uttered a few weeks ago, in the course of a woman suffrage debate in the House of Lords. "He deplored militancy," he said, "but at the same time it was inevitable. . . . There always did arise a certain lawlessness and disturbance when such movements took place, and it was one of the reasons for not halting in dealing with the subject that they did not want that sort of social disorder continued. . . . It was too late to go back, and both in the interests of expediency and justice it was better that they should go forward." Few have stated the position more clearly. The truth and wisdom of his words find acceptance not only in the mind of every student of past history, but also in the mind of every seriously minded average person. "Militancy is inevitable," says the Lord Chancellor; but what is also "inevitable" is the concession of the claim for simple justice. It is in the rightness, and justice of women's claim for the vote that the ultimate strength of the movement lies. It is on that ground that it is absolutely indestructible. The rights and wrongs of militancy are utterly irrelevant to it. Not only do they not destroy, they do not even touch the essential basis of the movement, which, because of its justice is invincible. The vote must be given to women because the human race cannot progress without it, and civilisation cannot go on. The defeat of the movement, were that possible, would be the defeat of humanity and the end of human development.

To put it quite plainly, the vote has to be conceded to women. Everybody knows it. Then, in the name of reason, if this thing has to be done ultimately, why not do it now? Why not face the fact that in these islands, as in many other civilised countries, the sex bar against citizenship is as intellectually obsolete as the bar of class, or the bar of religious faith. Why not put an end to the present miserable and degrading position before the honour of the country has been dragged to lower depths and a disgraceful chapter of British history has been written to a tragic end?

It is "inevitable" that right and liberty will triumph in the end. It is "inevitable" that obvious justice to a determined and high-spirited section of the race cannot be permanently withheld. But is it "inevitable" that destruction, waste, and loss should continue, and that bitter suffering should be brought upon every part of the body politic? Are we as a community to accept helplessly the present deplorable position? Must violence on both sides become more and more revolting? Must the King and his Ministers live in hiding from the people? Must our country become a laughing-stock for other nations? Must British manhood suffer itself to be made a by-word by reason of an ineffective brutality which does not crush the rebel sex, but only drives more and more women into active revolution?

Is not the common sense of the nation equal to the task of convincing its politicians of the insensate crime which they are committing towards the human commonwealth which they are elected to serve and to defend? They know, and we know, everybody knows, that they can never defeat the Votes for Women agitation, never drive women back into the position that they occupied before they became awakened by the spirit of liberty. All that these politicians hope in their light-minded and cynical way to accomplish is the further delay of this belated reform, no matter what that delay may cost the country. Why should a few men be allowed to work their sinister will to the detriment of the State and the dishonour of the nation?

This thing has to be done. There is no evading it. Then why not now?

INCOME TAX OF WIVES

Has the Exchequer Been Acting Illegally in Aggregating Incomes of Husbands and Wives for Income Tax and Super Tax?

By F. W. Pethick Lawrence

The income-tax laws were formulated before the married woman's property Acts. At that time a married woman could not own any separate property, and her income, whether derived from investments, or from her business, or from her personal exertions as wages was practically the income of her husband.

Ever since the income-tax laws were passed the Exchequer has proceeded on the presumption that for the purposes of income-tax the income of the wife was to be treated as part of the income of the husband. From this several consequences have flowed. *Firstly*, the Exchequer has only allowed a single abatement on the joint incomes of husband and wife—thus imposing what is practically a marriage tax on two wedded persons. *Secondly*, in all direct transactions with the income-tax payer, it has disregarded the existence of the wife, and dealt solely with the husband. *Thirdly*, it has estimated super-tax also on the aggregated incomes of husband and wife in view of the words of the Budget of 1909, by which super-tax is based on incomes calculated in the same way as for ordinary income-tax.

Those who have read the many articles on this subject which have appeared in this paper from time to time will not need to be reminded that we have inveighed against this proceeding, regarding it as derogatory to women, injurious to them financially, and against public morals, being in the nature of a restraint upon marriage. Mr. Lloyd George has been appealed to to alter the law so that these injustices might be brought to an end, but so far he has refused to do so, on the ground that it would cost a million and a half of money annually to the Exchequer, and that he is not prepared to lose this part of the revenue.

A Novel Suggestion

We are now confronted with the novel suggestion that this presumption on which the Exchequer has acted all these years is in fact contrary to law, and that the rule of aggregation is only applicable to that part of the income of the wife which is derived from her business enterprise or from her professional avocation, and that it does not apply to that part of her income which is derived from investments.

In order that readers of this paper may understand the point at issue, I set out the operative clause in the income-tax law relating to the case of wives living with their husbands:—

XLV. And be it enacted, That any Married Woman acting as a sole Trader by the Custom of any City or Place, or otherwise, or having or being entitled to any Property or Profits to her sole or separate Use, shall be chargeable to such and the like Duties, and in like Manner, except as hereinafter is mentioned, as if she were actually sole and unmarried: Provided always, that the Profits of any Married Women living with her Husband shall be deemed the Profits of the Husband, and the same shall be charged in the Name of the Husband, and not in her Name or of her Trustee.

It will be noticed that this clause consists of two* parts, the first part enacting that married women possessed of property or earning profits shall be chargeable as if they were *femes soles*, and the second part being a proviso that the profits of the wife shall be deemed the profits of the husband, and charged in his name. Up to the present it has generally been assumed that the first part made married women liable, and that the second part (the proviso) explained that their liability was to be attached through their husband. A recent decision of the court (Mr. Justice Rowlatt in the case of Mrs. Ayres Purdie) appears, however, to upset this view completely. If I understand the judgment correctly, Mr. Justice Rowlatt considers that there is a deliberate distinction made between the "property or profits" in the first part of the clause, and the "profits" alone, which are referred to in the proviso. On this assumption the proviso does not apply to the income of the married woman which is derived from property (i.e., land or investments), and only applies

to that part of her income which can strictly be regarded as "profits" (that is, business profit or income from profession).

If this interpretation be correct, then clearly, so far as that part of her income which is derived from property is concerned, the married woman is entitled to be treated as a *feme sole*, and ought to be able to claim abatement where her income is small, and to recover tax improperly paid on her own application, without recourse to her husband. Moreover, the husband ought not to be compelled, for the purpose of super-tax, to bring into the aggregate the income of his wife derived from her property. In other words, if the law is rightly interpreted it is very nearly in the form which we have called upon Mr. Lloyd George to enact.

It will be interesting to readers of this paper to recall that this judgment was given by Mr. Justice Rowlatt in view of a claim from Mrs. Purdie on the Exchequer for a refund of the income-tax which had been collected at the source on her income from certain investments (one an English company and the other Foreign Government Bonds), on the ground

that the only person who could pay income-tax on her behalf was her husband, and that he had not done so, but that she had been improperly mulcted. Mr. Justice Rowlatt overruled Mrs. Purdie, thereby opening up the much larger question. In view of this decision I understand that Mrs. Purdie now intends taking up the matter from the other standpoint, and has already sent in application for abatement on the ground that her income derived from investments is to be regarded as the income of a *feme sole*, and subject to the same abatement as would be allowed in such a position.

The case is not likely to come on for some months, and in the meanwhile Mr. Lloyd George has undertaken to amend the law to a slight extent when he comes to the Revenue Bill. It is of the utmost importance to women that they should follow closely the proposals that he makes, and that they should insist that nothing short of the complete separation of incomes of husband and wife will be acceptable to them. After all if they had votes, does anyone doubt that this simple act of justice would be immediately performed?

OPEN LETTER TO THE KING'S REMEMBRANCER

(Sir John Macdonell, C.B., LL.D., Senior Master of the Supreme Court of Justice)

Sir,—Since you have the honour of filling the post of King's Remembrancer, it may now lie within your province to place certain facts before His Majesty the King.

Advised, or ill-advised, as some would phrase it, the King declined to see Mrs. Pankhurst and the deputation of May 21, loyal subjects who hoped to lay before him certain facts dealing with the deplorable position of some eight millions of the women of this country.

1. They desired to point out that nearly two hundred of the local authorities of Great Britain and Ireland, including some of the largest municipalities of the Kingdom, such as Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Dublin, Cork, Manchester, Leeds, Hull, Birmingham, Nottingham, Leicester, York, have passed resolutions, sometimes unanimously, praying Parliament to reform itself, to extend the basis of representation by enfranchising women. The exclusion of women is a grave injustice, injuriously affecting their position in the home, factory, shop, in every profession, trade or calling that can be mentioned.

Five millions of the women of this country are wage-earners, many having children or relatives dependent on their labour for the means of support.

2. Four hundred members were returned to Parliament pledged to support a measure for the enfranchisement of women. By chicanery and on various pretexts, all of them unworthy and most of them dishonourable, the cause of the women has been betrayed, their deep grievances left unredressed; whilst measures not essential to the well-being of the nation, and in which the community at large are but faintly interested, have occupied the attention of party politicians to the exclusion of the much needed reform of Parliament itself.

3. Women are taxed without representation; their position is servile. It is well-known as an axiom of the Constitution that command of the purse must entail redress of grievances.

4. Parliament has abused its high position and almost supreme power, coupled with complete absence of responsibility towards the King's loyal women subjects, to pass the worst sex laws that afflict any civilised community. Such laws are the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857; the Contagious Diseases Acts of 1864, 1866, and 1869. The last are nominally repealed, but in administration the scales are not held even as between the sexes. The age of consent is fixed at sixteen; where women are enfranchised it has almost invariably been raised.

5. Many of the great departments of the Civil Service are practically closed, or nearly so, to women. When they are admitted, it is usually to work of an inferior kind. Where they are doing the same work as men, and doing it equally well, the pay is differentiated in an unjust manner. In this way these departments are used to depress the position and payment of women; they afford an unjust and injurious example instead of holding the scales even.

6. The bad position of women can be studied in the Education Department, where less is spent on women's education in every branch. Notably is this so in technical education. The demand for trained women as teachers, nurses, home-makers, is ill met, because the interests of women and girls are sacrificed to those of men and boys. The former do not obtain a just share of the funds available for technical education.

It was the intention of Mrs. Pankhurst and the body of women who accompanied her to place these and cognate facts before the King. She was arrested. The women who accompanied her were knocked down, ridden down by mounted men, thrown into the crowd with the utmost force, struck by police armed with truncheons, and treated with the utmost ferocity. Some of those who most cruelly assaulted them were said to be police in plain clothes. The mere fact of men not in uniform ill using and assaulting women assembled for a constitutional purpose, in itself constitutes a menace, and is of the nature of an invitation to hooligans to join the plain clothes police in assaulting the women. Hooligans are the product of misgovernment, and Great Britain has her full share of them.

The deputation having failed to bring these things before the King, it is thought desirable to appeal to you in order to remind the King of three facts:—

1. That subjects have a right to petition the King, as laid down by the Petition of Right in 1628.
2. That women are subjects; and
3. That in this capacity they demand the redress of their numerous grievances by the legitimate and oft-tried method of Parliamentary Reform. They seek to remind their Sovereign most dutifully that there is scarcely an instance of reform being carried until Parliament was itself reformed first. All other methods have been proved slow, wasteful of energy, ineffectual.

It is the special function of the King's Remembrancer to remind the Sovereign of his subjects' wrongs. Women do therefore respectfully request you to fulfil it, to enlighten His Majesty with regard to women's grievances, as the due performance of your office demands.—Yours faithfully,

C. S. Bremner

London, May 29, 1914.

* There is a third part, which I have purposely omitted in order not to complicate the discussion: it deals with the case of wives living separate from their husbands.

COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES

Attack on a Woman

The *Yorkshire Telegraph and Star* (May 18) reports case of a miner charged at the Rotherham Borough Court with being drunk and assaulting a married woman in her shop. He threatened to kill her, struck her in the face, smashing her spectacles, and knocked out a tooth and blackened her eye. The Bench described the assault as brutal, unjustifiable, and disgraceful.

Sentence: Two months' imprisonment.

Assault with Iron Bar

The *Courier* (April 4) reports case of a miner at Chesterfield Police Court charged with assaulting a labourer by striking him across the face, and also on the leg, with an iron bar.

Sentence: Fine of 20s. and costs, or one month.

Cruelty to a Horse

The *Morning Post* (May 21) reports case of a baker charged at Highgate Police Court with cruelty to a horse. He was found beating it unmercifully with a leather-thonged whip. A witness said he had found over a hundred cuts on the horse, of which twenty-four were bleeding.

Sentence: One month's hard labour.

The Cheapness of Wives

Another attempt on the part of a wife to summon her husband for persistent cruelty was dismissed by the magistrate at the Woolwich Police Court last week. (See *Pioneer*, May 29.) She said there was a baby a year old, and she left her husband because he knocked her down several times and was cruel to the child; on one occasion she was unconscious after being knocked down. The N.S.P.C.C. inspector corroborated this to the extent of saying that the defendant had admitted to him that he had pushed his wife down and sprinkled water over her. Unless the water douche was part of the admitted assault, this would seem to us to indicate such a severe "push" that the woman lost consciousness. Mr. Hutton, however, is reported to have said that there was no case for defendant to answer, and the summons was dismissed. This can only point to one of two things. Either the wife and the N.S.P.C.C. Inspector gave evidence that was not held sound; or else the fact of knocking a wife senseless does not constitute a "case" against the husband who assailed her. We incline to the latter conclusion in view of what took place at West Ham, last Tuesday week.

When a Woman is Rent-Collector

The *Daily News* (May 27) gives an account of a case which came before Mr. Gillespie at West Ham Police Court on May 26, when a man was charged with assault and robbery in connection with a woman rent-collector from whom, it was alleged, he wrenched with violence a bag containing over £13.

In the course of hearing the evidence, Mr. Gillespie expressed the greatest disgust and astonishment at the fact that several men were stated to have looked on while the woman was being attacked.

"And this is a civilised country; at least, it is called so!" exclaimed the magistrate with highly commendable indignation. And later, when more evidence had been given of the assault upon the woman, he is reported to have said:

"If I had seen the prisoner doing this he would have been in the infirmary this morning instead of in the police court."

A Comparison

This reveals a point of view of which we should like to have more on the Bench—on the morning after a woman's deputation, for instance, when men are sometimes charged by the police with assault because, like Mr. Gillespie, they could not stand by and see women being attacked and ill-treated without interfering.

We wish very heartily that Mr. Gillespie were the magistrate before whom these male defendants are brought on such occasions; for, unless he wishes us to believe that chivalry is only for women who are rent-collectors and not for women who are Suffragettes, he could not possibly sentence such men for what he declared at West Ham last week he would have done himself to the man who attacked a woman.

We wish also that Mr. Gillespie were the magistrate to whom all beaten and assaulted wives could appeal for summonses against their husbands who have ill-treated them and their children. For, again, we cannot do him the injustice of supposing that he accepted as valid the excuse of one of the witnesses in the rent-collector case, who said he did not interfere at once because there were so many fights

HEAVY SENTENCES

Robbing a Woman

The *Daily Telegraph* (April 22) reports case of a labourer charged at the London Sessions, before the Recorder, with snatching a handbag containing £34 from a woman in Aldersgate Street. There were previous convictions. The Recorder told him he was on the high road to penal servitude.

Sentence: Eighteen months' imprisonment.

Money by False Pretences

The *Daily Herald* (May 1) reports case of a man charged at the London Sessions with obtaining £10 by false pretences from a clergyman.

Sentence: Eighteen months' imprisonment.

Burglary

The *Somerset County Gazette* (May 23) reports case of a painter charged before Mr. Justice Ridley at the Somerset Assizes with housebreaking and stealing property to the value of £26, also some other goods in another place. There were previous convictions.

Sentence: Five years' penal servitude.

between men and their wives in Canning Town, and he supposed it was one of those. As this same witness said that he saw the man kick the woman and run away, "a fight between a man and his wife" appears to be an expression capable of a wide interpretation in Canning Town! And beyond all doubt, it is better to be a woman rent-collector than a wife when chivalry is required.

THE TAXATION OF MARRIED WOMEN

To the Editors of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*.

Dear Editors,—In the issue of the *Times* of Friday, May 15, it was reported that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when speaking of the Taxation of Married Women in the House of Commons, said:

"It is putting a tax on other persons, and the point is whether you can in justice demand that other people should bear a burden of a million and a half in order to redress what is regarded as an injustice. I do not think it is an injustice. The question is the income which is available for the purpose of running the household."

Will you allow me to point out that Mr. Lloyd George is here quite deliberately misleading the House on a most important point? He says there is "no injustice," and yet on several previous occasions he has quite frankly admitted the injustice and regretted that he could not remove it because the law as it at present stands brings in a million and a half more to the revenue than if the husband and wife were to be made separate taxable units. This, taken in conjunction with his remark about "taxing the households," seems to reveal the whole position in a nutshell. If it is right as a basis of taxation that persons who earn or possess an income above a certain amount should pay income tax, then it must be quite irrespective of whether the persons referred to are men or women, married or single. If, on the other hand, "to tax the household" is going to be the right basis, then it must be of all joint households—fathers, sons, brothers, sisters and so forth—and not as it is at present, only husbands and wives. The Chancellor of the Exchequer cannot have it both ways, and obviously the system is calculated to penalise marriage, because husbands and wives undertake responsibilities and expenses for the good of the State which do not fall upon other types of joint households.

Mr. Lloyd George also referred to the deputation from this Society which waited upon him last year. On that occasion cases of very special interest and peculiar grievances arising out of this anomaly in the law were pointed out to him, and I enclose herewith a verbatim report of that interview. There is not only injustice, there is also absolute robbery and law-breaking, because although no married woman is by law rendered liable for the payment of income tax on her own income, yet in every case where a married woman's income is invested it is always taxed at the source, and therefore she is rendered the direct taxpayer, although the husband is acknowledged to be the person liable. He is not only acknowledged to be liable, but in one case was sent to prison because he did not pay it. Why cannot Mr. Lloyd George really decide who is liable instead of taking it from anyone in this haphazard way? The only possible solution to the difficulty would be to make the husband and wife separate taxable units. —Yours, &c., N. KINGSTON PARKES.

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THE REVOLUTIONARIES

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

The following incidents have been attributed during the week to Suffragists:

Wednesday, May 27.—Two panes of glass smashed at Buckingham Palace. Two arrests made.

Thursday, May 28.—Three windows damaged at National Gallery. One arrest made.

Bomb found in wagon of a goods train on the Midland Railway at Wellingborough.

Friday, May 29.—New Castle Lawn Tennis Club pavilion, at Nottingham Park, damaged by fire. Suffragists suspected.

Monday, June 1.—Wargrave Church, near Henley, destroyed by fire. Suffragist messages found.

The Willows, a riverside residence at Clewer, near Windsor, damaged by fire. Suffragist messages found.

Monday, June 1.—Attempt to burn Nevill Holt, a mansion near Market Harborough. Suffragist literature found.

Tuesday, June 2.—Windows smashed in the main street at Cricketh.

Two Belfast editors assaulted in their respective offices by women said to be Suffragists.

Wednesday, June 3.—Dr. Forward, the prison doctor, horsewhipped outside Holloway by two Suffragists.

Ardmillan, a vacant villa, in Fort William Park, Belfast, damaged by fire. Miss Muir and Miss Larmour arrested and afterwards committed for trial.

Two pictures seriously damaged in the Doré Gallery (a Bartolozzi and John Shapland) by a Suffragist, who was arrested and taken to Marlborough Street.

Two constables assaulted with dog whips outside Holloway Gaol. Two women arrested.

IN THE COURTS

Thursday, May 28.—At Bow Street, before Mr. Hopkins, charged with breaking three windows at the National Gallery, a Suffragist. Remanded.

Friday, May 29.—At Marylebone Police Court, before Mr. Paul Taylor, charged on remand in connection with the Maida Vale flat raid, Mrs. Alice Hall, Miss Nellie Hall, Miss Emmeline Hall, Miss Julia Jameson, Miss Ellen Arnes, and Miss Grace Roe. Remanded.

At the Suffolk Assizes, before Mr. Justice Bailhache, charged with setting fire to the Bath Hotel, Felixstowe, on April 28, Miss Hilda Burkitt and Miss Florence Tunks. Miss Burkitt, two years in the second division; Miss Tunks, nine months in the second division.

Tuesday, June 2.—At Marylebone Police Court, before Mr. Paul Taylor, five defendants, Mrs. Hall being too ill to appear. Inquiry further remanded until Thursday (June 4). Bail allowed in each case with the exception of Miss Nellie Hall and Miss Grace Roe.

Wednesday, June 3.—At Bow Street Police Court, before Mr. Hopkins, charged with obstruction at Buckingham Palace, Miss Dolphie Pratt and Miss Sarah Slater. Fined 40s. or in default one month.

At North London Police Court, before Mr. Chester Jones, two Suffragists charged with attacking Dr. Forward with a dog whip. Bound over.

At Marlborough Street, Suffragist charged with seriously damaging two pictures in Doré Gallery. Committed for trial.

FORCIBLY FED ON REMAND

Distressing scenes marked the police court proceedings on Friday, and again on Tuesday, when Mrs. Hall, Miss Nellie Hall, Miss Emmeline Hall, Miss Jameson, Miss Arnes, and Miss Grace Roe were again before Mr. Paul Taylor on charges of conspiracy. The defendants, who had been hunger-striking, and in some cases forcibly fed, were carried in on chairs, and interrupted the proceedings continuously with protests against their treatment in prison, and against being tried at all. Now and then one of them would faint from exhaustion, and on Tuesday Mrs. Hall was too ill to appear.

Well may the *Daily Herald* say:—
"What a brutal crowd of cowardly ruffians we are cursed with as a Government! What a set of Christians we are also cursed with, from the archbishops downwards, who sit quietly in palace and church, and without protest allow women to be so shamelessly and brutally dealt with."

THE MAGISTRATE'S WITHDRAWAL

An extraordinary incident occurred at Marylebone Police Court last Friday, when in answer to an application for bail

for Miss Emmeline Hall, Mr. Paul Taylor said: "Under no circumstances will I facilitate access to her father."

Mr. Hall, who was at the back of the court, demanded an explanation of this aspersion upon his character. He was unheeded, Mr. Taylor merely pointing out to Miss Hall's solicitor that he had in his possession a letter written by her to her father, from which he read the passage: "The C.I.D. has just come to search the flat. I am staying in for explosives." This letter, he added, had been brought to the notice of the police, who would no doubt give it "their serious consideration." Mr. Hall entered the witness-box and asked by what right such an observation had been made about him, but the magistrate refused to give him a satisfactory reply.

An Incriminating Full-stop

On Tuesday last Mr. Hall again demanded from the rear of the court that the magistrate should withdraw the "slandering imputations" upon his character. "You think you are above the law," he shouted, "and can say anything to anyone you like without being answered. You shameful scoundrel!"

The explanation in the end was quite simple. The incriminating passage, Miss Hall pointed out, should have read thus, without a stop: "The C.I.D. have just come in to search the flat I am staying in for explosives."

Mr. Paul Taylor remarked that it was "very ambiguous," but accepted the explanation. He is not reported to have apologised to the man he had slandered.

NEWS OF PRISONERS

We understand that a large number of the women who were arrested for "obstruction" in connection with the deputation to the King, were released *unconditionally* after hunger-striking in Holloway Gaol. Seven of them, for instance, were released on Wednesday in last week.

Miss Annie Kenney

Miss Annie Kenney was released from Holloway Gaol on Thursday in last week, and later in the day was driven to Lambeth Palace by two nurses, one of whom told the gatekeeper that Miss Kenney had an appointment with the Archbishop of Canterbury. The gatekeeper, having made inquiries within the Palace, returned with the information that no such appointment had been made, upon which rugs and cushions were placed on the pavement, and Miss Kenney remained there until a crowd collected, and she was removed to Holloway Infirmary.

Last Saturday Miss Kenney visited the Bishop of London at Fulham Palace, and was received by him and granted an interview.

Other Prisoners

Last Friday, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst was released from Holloway Gaol in an exhausted condition after a five days' hunger and thirst strike.

Last Saturday, five women, who had been convicted in connection with the deputation to the King, were released from Holloway after hunger-striking.

On the same day, Mr. Robson Paige was released from Pentonville Gaol, having served a ten days' sentence for "assault" in connection with the deputation. The assault consisted of remonstrating forcibly with a constable who was pulling a woman along by her hair while two others dragged her in the opposite direction by her arms. In the police court, he told the magistrate that since women were tried by men, he ought, out of fairness to the women, to be tried by a woman magistrate.

We understand that Mrs. Drummond, who was released under the Cat and Mouse Act, is suffering from pleurisy.

IF SHE HAD BEEN A SUFFRAGETTE

The woman, Miss Ada Rice, wrongly stated in the evening papers on Derby Day to be a Suffragette, was let off with a fine when she appeared before the Bench at Epsom on the following day and explained that she had fired a blank cartridge at a policeman merely "for a lark." We wonder whether she would have got off as lightly if she had been, as she was at first supposed to be, a militant suffragette?

WHY THE KING DOES NOT RIDE

A morning paper states that the King, who is not riding in the Row this season, has given up his early morning ride on account of the Suffragettes, who might take this opportunity to try to approach him. The same reason is assigned as the basis of the rumour that there is to be no garden party at Buckingham Palace this year.

OUR WEEKLY JESTER

In the Bow County Court last week a woman litigant carried with her, for luck, an ornamental horseshoe measuring at least a foot in length, and won her case. Magistrates trust that this idea, pretty as it is, may not spread to Suffragettes of acknowledged marksmanship.—*Punch*.

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ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE

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The next "At Home" will take place on Friday, June 5, at the Arts Centre, at 3 p.m., Miss Margaret Halstan in the Chair, Miss Eva Moore and Miss Athene Seyler hostesses, and Mr. L. Cope Cornford and Mrs. St. Clair Stobart speakers.

The League has decided that a stall at the Anglo-American Exhibition at the White City, Shepherd's Bush, would be a valuable centre for propaganda work, and are making arrangements accordingly.

The stall will be in the Social Economy Section, where our friends the Anti-Suffragists have a stall. No sales are allowed by the regulations of the Exhibition, so all literature must be distributed gratis. It is hoped that all members will come forward and take their turn in looking after the stall. Much voluntary work is needed if it is not to be a heavy financial burden. The A.F.L. appeals also to all supporters of the Suffrage in other Leagues to give help in time, or money, or donations of literature to keep the stall going prosperously throughout the season, which lasts till October.

UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

3, Adam Street, Strand, London, W.C.

Telephone: Regent 5150

Colours: Purple, White and Orange
Committee

Miss Lena Ashwell
Mr. Gerald Gould
Mr. Henry W. Nevinson
Mrs. H. D. Harben
Miss Evelyn Sharp
Mrs. Frederick Whelen
Mr. John Scurr
Mr. H. J. Gillespie, Hon. Treasurer
Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Hon. Secretary
Mr. Charles Gray, Secretary

Join US (United Suffragists)

Meeting in Essex Hall.—An added interest will be given to the meeting in the large Essex Hall next Thursday, June 11, at 8 p.m., by the presence on the platform of members of the Irishwomen's deputation who intend to wait upon Mr. Asquith and Mr. Redmond on June 11. Two of these will speak at the meeting, and it is hoped that numbers of their countrywomen in London will be present, as well as our own members and their friends.

Admission will be free, and we remind readers of this report that since membership of the U.S. is open equally to men and women, efforts should be made to bring as many men as possible to the meeting (nearest station, Temple). Other speakers: Mr. John Scurr on "The Bill of Rights," and the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield on "Women and War." Chair: Mrs. Ayrton Gould.

Members' Meetings.—These will be resumed at 3, Adam Street, on Thursday, June 18, at 8 p.m., and will continue weekly until further notice.

Speakers' Class.—This will be held by Miss Winifred Mayo every Tuesday, beginning on Tuesday week, June 16, at 8 p.m., at 3, Adam Street. Fees: For members of U.S., 2s. 6d. for ten lessons; for non-members, 3s. 6d. Single lessons, 6d.

Election Campaign.—Open-air meetings: June 8, at 8 p.m.—Corner of Heygate Street and Walworth Road, Mrs. Whelen and Mr. H. J. Gillespie.
June 9, at 8 p.m.—Corner of Friar Street and Suffolk Street, West Southwark, Miss E. Hickey and Mr. C. Gray.

Drawing-room Meetings.—At Mrs. Jopling Rowe's meeting on June 10 the hostess will take the Chair, and Mr. Gillespie and others will speak. Miss Rorison will take the Chair at her own Meeting on June 11, and Miss Evelyn Sharp and Mr. Gillespie will speak. Invitations on application to the office.

Badges.—On sale at the office, brooch-badges in the colours. Large 6d.; small 9d.

SCOTTISH CHURCHES LEAGUE

The annual meeting of the above League for Woman Suffrage was held in Edinburgh last week, when references were made to the year's work, to the monthly Sunday afternoon devotional meetings, to the national week of prayer in November, and to the letter circularising the ministry of the country in order to show the connection between the woman's vote and the cause of social purity and temperance. Attention was also drawn by the Committee to the League's attitude towards militancy, and to its Constitution, which pledges members to carry on the work "by religious and educational methods," thus placing it outside the sphere of the Society to express any opinion on the methods of any other society.

IN MR. BURNS' CONSTITUENCY

For the third time within the last few weeks goods were sold in Battersea as a protest against women's disfranchisement when, last Friday, Mrs. Cecil Chapman, wife of the magistrate, had here sold in defiance for Imperial taxes. A public meeting of protest followed the sale and a copy of the resolution passed, declaring that voteless women are justified in their refusal to pay taxes, has been sent to Mr. Burns, M.P. for the borough.

COMING EVENTS

Lancashire Centre

Organiser: Miss Phyllis Lovell, Wingate House, Ainsdale, Lancashire.

The Cycle Corps will leave Liverpool for Woolton on Saturday, June 6. Members will meet in Church Street (Barnett Street Corner), promptly at 3 p.m.

Other Meetings

The London Society of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies will hold a Public Reception at the Westminster Palace Hotel on Friday, June 5, at 3.30-6 p.m.

The New Constitutional Society will hold a Public Meeting at the N. C. Hall, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge, on Tuesday, June 9, at 3 p.m.

Under the auspices of the Theosophical Society of England and Wales, Mrs. Annie Besant will lecture on "Theosophy and Social Work," at the Kensington Town Hall, on June 9, at 8 p.m.

Mrs. Boswell Tucker will lecture on "Should Women Serve on Juries?" at the International Women's Franchise Club, 9, Grafton Street, on Wednesday, June 10, at 8.30 p.m. Chair: Mr. G. B. Hamilton.

The Women's Freedom League will hold a Public Meeting at the Caxton Hall on Wednesday, June 10, at 8.30 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Nevinson, L.L.A., and Mrs. Tanner. Chair: Miss F. A. Underwood.

The United Suffragists will hold a meeting at the Essex Hall, Essex Street, Strand, on June 11, at 8 p.m., at which members of the Irish deputation to Mr. Redmond will speak. Other speakers: Mrs. Haverfield, Mr. John Scurr. Chair: Mrs. Ayrton Gould. Admission free.

An International Conference will be held by the Fédération Abolitioniste Internationale, at Portsmouth, from June 15 to 18.

THE WEAKER SEX

"Look at her," said the ironmonger, indicating a departing customer. "She sent her wringer here to be repaired. I promised it her for this week provided that I could get a certain new part in time from the makers. I couldn't get it. Now she wants me to pay a charwoman who came unnecessarily—half-a-crown and two-pence tram fare. Then she wants me to pay the laundry bill for the clothes." The ironmonger paused to breathe heavily. "But that's not all. Her husband dines out on washdays, and as he dined out on a washday which wasn't a washday—you understand?—she says that I ought to pay for his dinner. No, she doesn't ask anything else. And they call 'em the weaker sex!"—*Manchester Guardian*.

WOMEN AND WAR

By Edmund Vance Cooke

It might not be so difficult to lead the light brigade,
While the army cheered behind you, and the fife and bugles played;
It might be rather easy, with the war-shriek in your ears,
To forget the bite of bullets and the taste of blood and tears.
But to be a scrubwoman, with four babies or more,
Every day, every day setting your back
On the rack,
And all your reward for ever not quite
A full bite
Of bread for your babies. Say!
In the heat of the day
You might be a hero to head a brigade.
But a hero like her? I'm afraid! I'm afraid!
—*Saturday Evening Post*.

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

- Actresses' Franchise League, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- Artists' Suffrage League, 259, King's Road, S.W.
- Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association, C/o International Women's Franchise Club, 9, Grafton Street, W.
- Catholic Women's Suffrage Society, 55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.
- Church League for Women's Suffrage, 6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.
- Civil Service Suffrage Society, 19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.
- Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, 42, Dover Street, W.
- East London Federation of the Suffragettes, 321, Roman Road, Bow, E.
- Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies, 31, Alfred Place, Tottenham Court Road, W.C.
- Forward Civic Suffrage Union, 31, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.
- Free Church League for Women's Suffrage, 13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane.

- Friends' League for Women's Suffrage, Welden, Gloucester.
- Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society, 2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.
- International Suffrage Shop, 11, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- International Women Suffrage Alliance, 7, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- International Women's Franchise Club, 9, Grafton Street, W.
- Irishwomen's Franchise League, Westmoreland Chambers, Westmoreland Street, Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Reform League, 23, South Anne Street, Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association, 165, Balfour Road, Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation, 23, South Anne Street, Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Suffrage Society, 17, Douglas Place, Belfast.
- Jewish League for Woman Suffrage, 32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.
- League of Justice, 22, South Molton Street, W.
- Liberal Women's Suffrage Union, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge, S.W.
- London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage, Chester Gate, Belling.
- Marchers' Qui Vive Corps, Dunston, Peckworth, Sussex.
- Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage, Temp. Address: 18, Cornwall Mansions, Chelsea, S.W.
- Men's League for Woman Suffrage, 156, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.
- Men's Political Union for Women's Emancipation, 15, Ruckingham Street, Strand, W.C.
- Men's Society for Women's Rights, 65, Avenue Chambers, Southampton Row, W.C.
- Munster Women's Franchise League, 85, Grand Parade, Cork.
- National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society, 5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.
- National Political League, Bank Buildings, 14, St. James' Street, S.W.
- National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 14, St. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.
- New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage, 3, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.
- Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage, 6, Wellington Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.
- Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage, 11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.
- Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage, 2, St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh.
- Spiritual Militancy League, 46, Queen's Road, Baywater, W.
- Suffrage Atelier, Office: 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C. Studio: 6, Shearwater Villa, Shepherd's Bush, W.
- Suffrage Club, 3, York Street, St. James', S.W.
- 'Suffrage First' Committee, 41, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.
- Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee, 21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.
- United Religious Woman Suffrage Societies, 13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.
- United Suffragists, 3, Adam Street, Strand, W.C.
- Votes for Women Fellowship, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.
- Lancashire Organiser: Miss Phyllis Lovell, Wingate House, Ainsdale, Lancs.
- Women Sanitary Inspectors' Suffrage Society, 43, Sutherland Avenue, W.
- Women's Freedom League, 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom, 10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.
- Women's Social and Political Union, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.
- Women's Tax Resistance League, 10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.
- Women Teachers' Franchise Union, 27, Muriel Road, Lee, S.E.
- Women Writers' Suffrage League, Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

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CORRESPONDENCE

A NEW FORM OF PROTEST

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.
Dear Editors.—A further constitutional weapon in the campaign has recently occurred to me, and I should be glad for your readers to have the opportunity of judging whether it is a valuable one.

I suggest that all women who have property to leave, and who have perhaps made wills leaving it to various persons of either sex, should make a codicil to their will to the effect that unless the Parliamentary Franchise for women is carried before their decease, the property should all go to the female legatees only, in the proportions decided on. I intend doing this with my own property, and am arranging with my solicitor accordingly; but it seems to me that if all women possessing property, however small, who believed in votes for women would follow suit, and would take steps to make public the fact that they were doing so, it might have a marked effect on the speed with which our longed-for reform was carried.—Yours, &c.,

MARGARET STOCKMAN.

180, Willfield Way, Hampstead Garden Suburb, N.W.

THE CHURCH AND WOMEN

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors.—In my mind, a most effective protest against the brutal treatment of women prisoners, who are fighting for moral and social reform, would be for all women to keep away from all church services, and withdraw all subscriptions. That the church (with a few honourable exceptions) do not wish for any reform is but too evident from their extraordinary apathy to the present social evils. They are said to be ministers of Christ, but how many ever made any protests against the White Slave Traffic, which has reached such enormous dimensions; or against the outrageously lenient sentences on brutes who have ruined young girls, and even young children? Perhaps when they found their churches empty they might then awaken to their responsibilities.—Yours, &c.,

M. D. E.

Bath.

SUFFRAGISTS AND ALEXANDRA DAY

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors.—I wish to endorse Robson Paige's letter re "Alexandra Day." It is surprising that women are still willing to assist those institutions which are largely for the benefit of men, who not only remain apathetic and obdurate to women's enfranchisement, but furthermore by their unconcern are consenting to forcible-feeding torture of the finest women of the times.

I should like Suffragists' attention directed to the Women's Hospital for Children, Harrow Road, W., a most unique institution, being founded, staffed and managed entirely by women. The nurses work under better conditions than prevail in the larger hospitals, and by establishing this hospital, splendid results are showing how very capable women doctors are in treating children's ailments. In fact, as a mark of appreciation, trade unionists and others are raising a fund and organising a second annual demonstration similar to last year's, when £45 was handed to the hospital funds.—Yours, &c.,

EDWIN WM. LAWRENCE

(Amal. Soc. Carpenters and Joiners).
28, Alpertown Street, W.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" IN CANADA

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors.—I am having a splendid time in Canada, and I have been able to speak on suffrage and to sell suffrage literature in every place that I have stayed in. In Fort William I addressed the Collegiate School, spoke to the Sunday school, gave a short address to the Farmers' Convention, which resulted in an unanimous vote in favour of a resolution to give the municipal franchise to married women. At Port Arthur I addressed the pupils and teachers and many visitors at the Collegiate School, and held an evening meeting, where a very large amount of suffrage literature was sold. Here, in Ottawa, I was invited on the day of my arrival to address a large assembly of Government teachers, who were most enthusiastic, and bought many copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN. On Saturday, May 16, the Suffrage League gave a luncheon at the Château Hotel. About 200 people of both sexes were present. I addressed this audience for more than an hour and a quarter, and found them most attentive and appreciative. On Sunday I spoke on suffrage in private houses, and on Monday, May 18, I addressed the Local Council of Women in the afternoon, and spoke at a large meeting of the Suffrage Association in the evening. The Press has treated me splendidly, giving long notices and almost verbatim reports of my lectures, and also in publishing articles from my pen. The editors of the papers have been most wide-minded in their attitude to this question, that is so sternly boycotted by the Press at home. I am securing a wide sale for VOTES FOR WOMEN, and hope to gain some permanent subscribers.—Yours, &c.,

MARGARET HODGE.

Ottawa, May 18, 1914.

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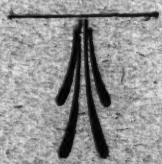
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NEXT SUNDAY'S SERVICES

ETHICAL CHURCH, Queen's Road, W. — June 7, 11 a.m., Dr. Stanton Coit, "Elizabeth Fry"; 7 p.m., Mr. H. J. Bridges, "Socrates in Modern Life."

HIGHER THOUGHT CENTRE, 40, Courtfield Gardens, Cromwell Road, S.W. — 11.30, Mr. Henry Proctor; 7, Miss Stacey, Doré Gallery, 35, New Bond Street, W., 11.15, Mrs. Annie Rix Millitz.

ST. MARY-AT-HILL, Church Army, Church, Eastcheap. Sundays, 9 and 6, views, orchestra band. Prebendary Carlile.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

LONDON SOCIETY (N.U.W.S.S.) — Public Reception, June 5, Westminster Palace Hotel, 3.30-6. Councillor Margaret Ashton, Rev. A. E. Simms, Dr. Saleeby.

NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE — Tuesday, June 9, at 3 p.m., New Constitutional Hall, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge. Miss S. R. Perkins. "The Barmaid's Employment." Chair, Mrs. Cavendish Ben-tinck.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE holds public meetings at Caxton Hall each Wednesday afternoon. Speakers, June 10: Mrs. Nevinson and Mrs. Tanner. The Chair will be taken by Miss F. A. Underwood at 3.30. Admission free.

BOARD RESIDENCE, Etc.

BRIGHTON. — TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good table, congenial society. Terms from 25s. weekly — Mrs. Gray, W.S.P.U.

FOLKESTONE. — "Trevarra," Bouvierie Road West. Board-residence, excellent position, close to sea, lawn, and theatre; separate tables; moderate terms; private apartments if required. — Miss Key (W.S.P.U.).

JERSEY. — GOREY, Greenhill. Board-residence. Beautifully situated. High, healthy; own grounds; tennis; every home comfort; a welcome to members. Terms 25s. 6d. — Miss Renouf.

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RESIDENTIAL Club for Ladies. — Cubicles from 18s. 6d. per week with board; rooms 25s.; also by the day. — Mrs. Campbell-Wilkinson, 49, Weymouth Street, Portland Place, London, W.

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THE SUMMER SCHOOL OF PATRIOTISM. — An endeavour to organise the forces working for the renaissance of patriotism in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. To be held at Bexhill-on-Sea from August 1 to September 12. Send stamp for full particulars to the Organising Secretary, 6, Melbourne Road, Merton Park, London, S.W.

EDUCATIONAL

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GOD'S WORD TO WOMEN has never been a word of disapproval and suppression. The Bible, when correctly translated and interpreted, encourages the fullest development of all woman's powers, and teaches her equality with man in every respect. Do you wish to equip yourself with Scriptural arguments for those who use the Bible as a block to woman's emancipation? Do you wish to know where and how it is misinterpreted? Then send 7d. (15 cents) in stamps for the new improved (third) edition of "The Woman's Catechism," which answers 101 questions about woman's place in the Bible, and at the same time gives an outline of the teaching of the first year's course of the Women's Correspondence Bible Class. — Katherine Bushnell, 3, Leicester Street, Southport.

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